FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

NOVEMBER 20, 1915

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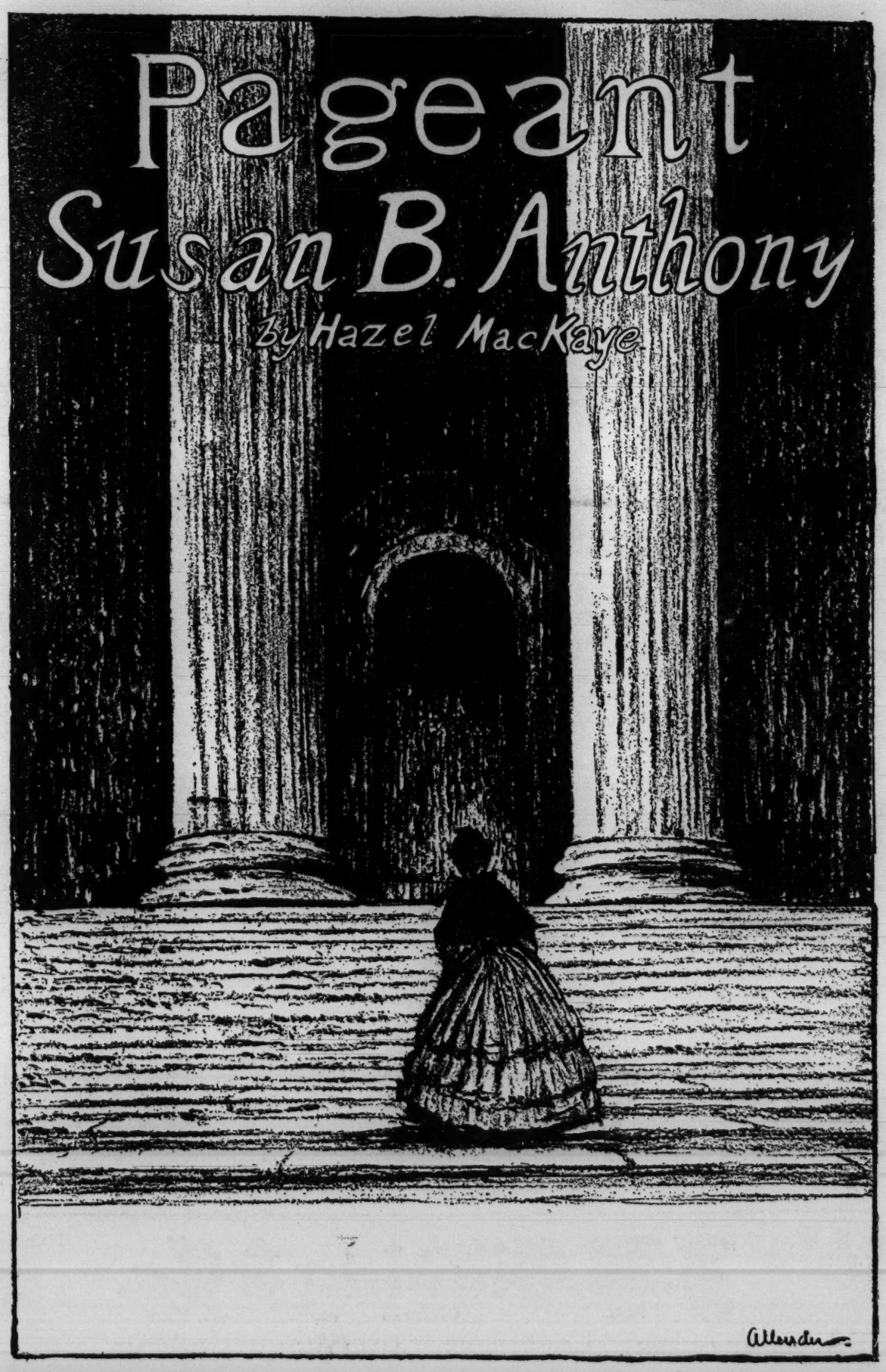

Drawn by Nina E. Allender.

The Pageant of Susan B. Anthony, Convention Hall, December 13, 1915

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The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Notes of the Week

Women Demand National Defense

A MEETING of the Woman's Section of the Navy League was held at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., on November 15. Suffragist and anti-suffragist speakers, representing, they claimed, nearly 500,000 women, demanded thorough and immediate military preparedness for the United States. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, president of the Political Equality League of New York, and Mrs. Arthur Dodge, president of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, were principal speakers.

In introducing Mrs. Dodge, the chairman referred to Mrs. Belmont as the "lion of the woman's movement," and to Mrs. Dodge as the "lamb." Mrs. Dodge, however, declared with emphasis that she was not a lamb. The chairman apologized.

Whether avowed suffragists or not, women who are interested in great national events and are publicly seeking to influence them, prove the necessity for the speedy enfranchisement of women throughout the nation.

Texas Federation of Women's Clubs Indorses Suffrage

THE Federation of Women's Clubs of the state of Texas at their annual convention held November 13, at Brownwood, indorsed woman suffrage.

The growth of the suffrage movement in Texas is another proof that southern women want enfranchisement, and want it soon.

Episcopal Church Acts on Suffrage for Women

THE convention of eight hundred laymen and clergy of the Episcopal Church of New York, who met in Synod Hall of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Wednesday, November 12, gave women the right to vote in parish elections, if the men of the parishes consented.

Considering the large proportion of women in every congregation, and their faithful contributions of money and work, this grant of freedom (at the option of the men in each parish) does not err on the side of generosity.

Women in Three States For Federal Child Labor Law

THREE state federations of women's clubs went on record in one week as favoring the federal bill to prohibit the shipment in interstate commerce of child-made goods. They were the Pennsylvania, Indiana and New Jersey federations, representing more than fifteen thousand women.

The action taken by these women is the direct result of the National Child Labor Committee's second campaign for a federal child labor law, members of the committee said last Saturday. The bill which the committee has drafted will be introduced in Congress early in December, and is similar in form to the Palmer-Owen bill which passed the House of Representatives last year by an overwhelming majority, but was defeated in the Senate by the objection of Senator Overman, of North Carolina. If the bill passes, it will prohibit the shipment in interstate commerce of goods in the production of which children under fourteen have been employed in factories, or under sixteen more than eight hours a day or at night, or under sixteen in mines or quarries.

Offers of cooperation from organizations and individuals are daily pouring into the offices of the National Child Labor Committee.

With this measure pending in Congress, the right of women to influence the deliberations of Congress can scarcely be questioned.

United States Helps Men to Naturalize

A NATIONAL movement is on foot to educate applicants for the privileges of citizenship, according to a bulletin in the Milwaukee *Free Press* (November 14) from Marinette, Wisconsin.

The foreign-born white population of Marinette in 1910, the bulletin states, was 4,027, or 27.6 per cent of the total population. Of this number 2,059 were males who had attained their majority; and only 1,544 were shown to have been naturalized.

For the encouragement of aliens, the United States Bureau of Naturalization will furnish the superintendent of schools in cities and towns with the names of aliens who file petitions for naturalization, or declarations of intention. This, according to the *Free Press,* will enable the school authorities to get in touch with such applicants and give them valuable assistance in preparing for citizenship.

Women's taxes will pay for the education of illiterate aliens, so that they may with all speed be given the rights of citizenship, including, in their case, the right to vote. Probably women teachers will instruct the foreigners and give them the "valuable assistance" they need in preparing for citizenship.

Yet American women are denied the rights which the United States Government cannot too quickly give alien men! The injustice is too gross.

Senator Borah for National Prohibition

A DISPATCH from Portland, Oregon, states that Senator Borah has declared for national prohibition. In a letter to Mr. R. P. Hutton, of the Anti-Saloon League, Senator Borah says: "I have been forced to the conclusion that the only effective way to deal with the liquor question is by and through the action of the national government."

Senator Borah is known to suffragists as the only Senator from an equal suffrage state who voted against the federal suffrage amendment in March, 1914. The Senator gave as his reason at the time that he believes in the right of the state to control its own electorate.

Women will expect that Senator Borah on further consideration of the matter will be forced to the conclusion that the only effective way to deal with the suffrage question is by and through the action of the national government.

Children in Danger of Fire in Schools

THIRTY-FIVE THOUSAND New York school children are inadequately protected from the danger of fire.

This state of affairs was brought to the attention of the city administration on November 15 by officers of the Board of Education.

Thirty-five schools in New York City, the report stated, are dangerous to the pupils that attend them. An appropriation to correct this evil has been sought for several months, but has been withheld on the plea of "lack of funds."

This in the state where men have just refused women the right to vote, doubtless because their interests were adequately protected under the present system!

Women's Court Has Women Officers

LOS ANGELES boasts of a court for women conducted by women. It is the first of its kind in California and is intended to keep young girls from the harmful influence of the ordinary courts. The judge, bailiff, clerks and reporters are all women.

The tribunal tries juvenile cases only and sits once a week. Boy defendants up to the age of nine years come under its jurisdiction. Of the fourteen cases tried so far, all but one of the defendants confessed and threw themselves upon the mercy of the court.

Girl Will Direct Chinese Women's College

A WELLESLEY graduate, of the class of 1914, is to assume control of the only woman's college in south China.

The graduate is Miss Fung Hin Liu, who received her A. B. degree from Wellesley little more than a year ago. The institution she will direct is the woman's division of the Canton Christian College.

Nothing could show more clearly than this what the republic of China means to its women. After centuries of seclusion they find themselves allowed a freedom of which they have never dreamed. It is equally representative of the spirit of the new China that it looks to the young people of the nation for guidance.

Women Attack England's War Program

WITH criticism of the English Ministry's war campaign coming from all parts of the world, it is most interesting to find that English suffragists called a great mass meeting of women to be held in Albert Hall, London, on November 12, to demand the removal of Premier Asquith and Sir Edward Grey from the ministry because of their diplomatic defeat in the Balkans. When the object of the meeting became known, the Albert Hall authorities cancelled the permit for the use of the hall.

Mrs. Pankhurst immediately announced that the meeting would be held at another time and place. She said that the action of the Albert Hall authorities was inspired by the government to hush protests against what is now being called the "betrayal of Serbia."

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SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

Women Voters' Envoys Reach the East

THE envoys of the Woman Voters' Convention bearing to President Wilson and Congress the call of the women voters of the West for the national enfranchisement of women, have traveled since November 6 through Indiana, Ohio and Michigan; and touched New York on November 16, receiving ovations of welcome everywhere.

Next week they will pass through Massachusetts, speaking at Springfield on November 22, Boston on November 23, and Providence on November 24. A meeting at New Haven, Connecticut, will be held on November 26, and on November 27 they will reach New York City.

The end of their journey is now in sight. They will reach Newark, New Jersey, on November 29; Philadelphia on December 2; Wilmington on December 3; Baltimore on December 4; and Washington, D. C., the goal of their long and fruitful journey, on Monday, December 6—the day the Sixty-fourth Congress convenes.

The Call from the East and the Response from the West
Miss Mabel Vernon, of Delaware, and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of Oregon

A SPLENDID reception was given the envoys at Indianapolis. The *Indianapolis News*, November 8, says: "Mrs. Sara Bard Field, brown-eyed and slender, saw men gather at the curbing in the shadows of the Morton Monument, on the statehouse steps, shortly after noon today, watched them smile as she began her talk for woman suffrage, then saw their faces grow serious as they stepped nearer. Then she smiled herself and her argument poured forth while 'old heads' in the statehouse coterie of machine politicians stood with open mouths and drank in her pleadings.

"She told of the assembly at San Francisco in September, of a great convention of women from the twelve states which have woman suffrage; she told how that convention decided to support a movement for an amendment to the national Constitution, and sent her to Washington by automobile to see President Wilson and Congress and make an appeal for the passage of such an amendment."

Mayor Bell, of Indianapolis, was not present at the meeting, but Mr. Jacob Platt Dunn, the city comptroller, appeared and welcomed Mrs. Field and her traveling companions to the city.

"Mrs. Field," says the *Indianapolis News*, "is a little bundle of energy and she is so wrapped up in her subject that she fairly breathes it, eats it and spreads it all over those about her.

"The meeting," said the *News*, November 9, "was the largest street gathering in behalf of suffrage ever held in Indiana; and after the talks many of the men who came with cynical smiles and apparent indifference and had stood to hear the arguments of the clever speakers, lent their endorsement by signing the petitions which were passed about. Many of the members of the Franchise League of Indiana were in the audience."

AT DAYTON, Ohio, the envoys were welcomed by Mrs. Cyrus Mead, chairman of the Congressional Union in that state. Dayton women met the visitors on Tuesday, November 9, and accompanied them in a procession into the city up to the Courthouse, where a large open-air meeting was held. On the Courthouse steps Mayor Shoyer greeted the party in behalf of Dayton. Mrs. Charles H. Kulmer and Mrs. Cyrus Mead introduced them as representatives of the Congressional Union. At the close of the meeting a large reception was held in the Algonquin Hotel, which was placed at the disposal of Mrs. Mead through the kindness of Mr. J. Elliot Pierce. The leading women of Dayton participated in the welcome tendered the western women. Among them were Mrs. Robert Craig McKerrow, Mrs. Valentine Winters, vice-chairman of the committee on arrangements; Mrs. Edward Weston, Mrs. O. F. Davisson, Mrs. H. N. Waite, Miss Ella Haas, Miss Dorothy Patterson, Mrs. A. I. Mendenhall, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Barlow, and Dr. and Mrs. Garland.

FROM Dayton the envoys went to Columbus, arriving there on November 11. They were met by a large delegation of representative citizens and escorted into the city. Chief of Police Carter led the way to the west entrance of the state house, where Governor Frank B. Willis, Mrs. Willis and three hundred well-known men and women were waiting to receive them in a large reception room of the Governor's suite. Mrs. James Rector introduced the envoys to Governor and Mrs. Willis.

"The coming of these envoys across the country marks a new phase in the great movement for the political equality of men and women," said Mrs. Rector. "It marks the day of liberation from the old thought of the state-by-state winning of suffrage for women. It sees the vision of Susan B. Anthony about to become a reality. With four million women already in possession of the right to the presidential vote, we can no longer regard the artificial boundaries of the states as real barriers to our enfranchisement."

Governor Willis in a very signficant speech greeted the envoys in the name of the people of Ohio.

"While a member of the General Assembly," the Governor said, in part, "I voted to submit the question of woman suffrage to the electorate of Ohio. I do not mind saying to you that I thought then and think now that this is a national question. Some questions are purely local in their nature. The question as to who is to vote concerns all the people in this country. Therefore I have no hesitancy in saying to you ladies that I think you are pursuing a proper course in presenting woman suffrage to Congress as a national issue.

"I am most happy that this party was organized in California and has made the journey across the country thus far in safety. I trust you will arrive with all success in the East at the House of Congress early in December. I assure you ladies that you will receive no more warm or cordial welcome than you receive in the state of Ohio."

Both Governor and Mrs. Willis added their names to the suffrage petition to Congress.

Leaving the statehouse, the Governor and guests went to the Rector Building, where Mrs. Willis and Mrs. Cyrus Mead stood in the receiving line and introduced the guests to the envoys. The building was charmingly decorated with autumn flowers. Several of Columbus's most popular debutantes served refreshments to five or six hundred guests. Mrs. Field made a stirring and beautiful address.

AT DETROIT a superb welcome was awaiting the envoys. A procession of over forty automobiles met them on the outskirts of the city and brought them to the steps of the county building on Saturday evening, November 13. The automobiles were decorated with flags, yellow balloons and yellow lanterns. On the steps of the county building red lights were burning in four stone urns. The scene was "like pictures of Rome in the time of the Cæsars," says the *Detroit Times*, November 15.

The meeting on the steps was opened by the Right Reverend Charles D. Williams. Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Hon. Ira W. Jayne, mayor of Detroit; the Reverend Eugene Shippen, Miss Mabel Vernon, and Mrs. Sara Bard Field made eloquent and stirring speeches. Four thousand Detroit signatures to the national petition were given into the keeping of Mrs. Field to carry with the signatures of the western women to Congress.

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Women and National Defense

IN AN address before the Women's Section of the Navy League Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont expressed deeply and truly the demand of women in the present national emergency.

"A woman, I suppose, to some of you," Mrs. Belmont said, in part, "seems out of place at a gathering of this kind.

"If I were the owner of the Bethlehem Steel Factory, you would say: 'Let us pay close attention. This person manufactures cannon and shrapnel.' If I were the walking delegate of a union of mechanics employed by the Remington Arms Company, you would say: 'Here is an individual worthy of respect. He represents those that manufacture the rifles. Let us hear what he has to say.' If I were the head of a big bank, you would say: 'This person supplies the money that buys the machinery that inflicts death. Let us be polite to him.'

"I am here to advance the proposition that merely as a war-making machine a woman has her place here the same as a manufacturer of shrapnel on a wholesale scale, or a maker of armor plate, or a mechanic turning out rifles.

"Woman is the manufacturer of the chief tool used in war, namely, *man*. For every rifle there must be a man manufactured by some woman to pull the trigger and push the shells into the magazine. For every cannon there must be a man of keen sight, born of some healthy woman who gave him good nerves, the power to aim straight amid noise, smoke and death.

"More important than cannon, powder, dynamite or warships is the war material that the women supply—the soldiers, the sailors, the officers, those that have their statues built in the market place when war is over, and those that lie bleeding to death on the ground when the battle ends.

"If you would listen patiently here to the walking delegate of rifle-manufacturing mechanics, you should also listen patiently, if only for a few minutes, to one who may call herself a sort of walking delegate for the women who manufacture the men that carry the rifles.

"Ours is the hard work, the painful work, and the slow work.

"You can give an order to Schwab, and he will give you a million rifles in three months.

"A good mechanic may produce a death-dealing weapon in a few hours of work.

"But it takes a woman many months to produce the son who is sent to be killed with the rifle on his shoulder. And it takes her many years of patient care and anxiety to bring him up to the age where he is fit to kill or be killed.

"Your factories have hastened the process of manufacturing the weapons that men produce. But there is no hastening of the process that Nature lays upon woman.

"We are the manufacturers of all time, and it is time for some attention to be paid, when you discuss preparation for war and wholesale slaughter, to the women who must produce the real machinery of war—the men that kill and are killed.

"Women do not demand recognition where war is concerned as actual fighters.

"In their day, women have shown the physical courage on the battlefield that they show now every day in the hospitals and in childbirth.

"The King of Ashantee trained his regiment of fighting women, so ferocious and terrible that a half dozen of them would easily chase twenty-four big New York policemen into the North River.

"The women of the Germanic tribes, whom Tacitus describes, went into battle with their men, fought as savagely as they, and those that survived strangled their children and then themselves, that they might not be captured.

"Women have done their share of real fighting in the world, creating the armies to begin with, feeding them, clothing them, encouraging them, rewarding the heroes and shaming the cowards.

"Women no longer fight with their hands, although their courage has by no means left them, as men will discover if they insist too long upon a program of injustice.

"Women demand that they be consulted in public affairs, and in war especially, since it is they who supply every man sent to be killed, and because woman suffers mentally and physically infinitely more than men in war. . . .

"This country talks of preparedness, and the men gathered here are especially interested in that subject.

"All preparation should be based on justice.

"Preparation for war should be based in this country on justice to women. . . .

"I am here to say that when this war ends, England will be compelled to recognize the fact that the women who have manufactured and contributed every man left dead on the continent are entitled in future wars to have their say and express their will.

"And I am here to say that the people of America will act more wisely, and prepare more fully, if they consent, without the bitter experience of war, to recognize the rights and the place in our republic of the one great and only indispensable ammunition factory on earth—woman."

Convention Plans

MRS. MARY AUSTIN, of New York, will assist Miss Anne Martin in arranging a ceremony of welcome to the envoys of the Woman Voters' Convention, who have traveled from San Francisco to Washington to carry the resolutions of the convention and petitions gathered at the Panama-Pacific Exposition to President Wilson and to Congress.

Mrs. Austin, who has recently joined the advisory council of the Congressional Union, produced the beautiful pageant "Fire" at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and staged her play, "The Arrow-maker," at the New Theater in New York in 1911-12. She will design the plan for the procession of women who will meet the envoys and escort them to the Capitol and the White House, and will arrange the greeting of Senators and Congressmen to the western women at the Capitol.

Among the noted women who will attend the convention are: Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore, of California; Miss Zona Gale, of Wisconsin; Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, of New York; Miss Janet Richards, of Washington, D. C.; Mr. Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, of Utah, who acted as secretary to the Woman Voters' Convention last September, and who is the only woman who ever cast the electoral vote of a state for President of the United States; Miss Maud Younger, of California, a leading figure in the national labor movement; Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, of Colorado, State Factory Inspector; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, of New York, president of the Women's Political Union, and daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York; Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada; Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, member of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission; and Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Miss Hazel MacKaye
Author and Director of the Susan B. Anthony Pageant

THE glorious pageant of Susan B. Anthony will be held in Convention Hall, the largest public building in the capital, on December 13, the closing day of the convention. There will be four hundred participants in the ten historic episodes which compose the pageant.

Mrs. Florence Kays Hanson will play the dramatic rôle of Susan B. Anthony. Mrs. Hanson is a professional reader of wide reputation, both in Canada and the United States. Miss Hazel MacKaye, author and director of the pageant, thinks Mrs. Hanson the one person in the country best suited to the great rôle.

All the leading characters in the pageant are historic. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who will be represented by Mrs. Charlotte Stanley, is a sister figure to Miss Anthony; Lucretia Mott will be represented by Miss Catherine Reynolds McCormick; Wendell Phillips, by James R. Daly; Mrs. Margaret Hopkins Werrell will take the part of Mrs. Amelia Bloomer; Howard Treat, the part of Daniel Anthony; Mrs. Ruth Pierson, Mrs. Daniel Anthony; Miss Leonora de Grange, Hannah Anthony; Miss Marguerite Pierson, Mary Anthony; Prof. E. C. Townsend, a Quaker Elder; Mr. J. B. Peat, Judge Hunt; Bennett Mead, a clerk of the court; Mr. Frederick M. Kerby, Richard Henry Lee; Harry Myer, a country boy, and Watson Ahlenfeld, Farmer Marsh.

The splendid picture of great masses of people in the brilliant garments of old days will be illumined by a beautiful lighting scheme. Between the historic episodes friezes will appear, symbolizing the stages of women's advancement. Stringed music by Mr. Myer Davis's orchestra will accompany and interpret the pageant story.

"On to Washington"

By Professor Charles H. Beard

(From a Speech given in New York, November 11, 1915.)

THE advocates of a great cause are never daunted by the decisions of a majority. Such decisions may be respected as rules of law, but they are not binding upon our consciences or our thinking. We have but one thing to consider, namely, is our cause just? Being sure of that, we fear neither the wrath of the gods nor the anger of men. And of all the causes now pleading at the bar of democracy, there is no other so obviously just as that of woman suffrage. A scheme of law which deprives the most intelligent, the most thoughtful, the most industrious woman in the commonwealth of a voice in the government, and at the same time grants to the meanest, most pusillanimous, and most criminal wretch political power over that woman is a foul blot upon civilization and one which cannot long endure the determined faith of those who have highly resolved to wipe it out. . . .

The only problem of the hour is the shortest cut to justice, and that involves a measurement of the instruments at our hand, a study of the means whereby we may gain the great object now before us. Did a majority favor the revolt against the British king and the establishment of American independence? History answers, "No." Did a majority favor the establishment of the Constitution of the United States? History answers that out of 600,000 adult males less than one-fourth took the trouble to vote one way or the other; and that of those voting it is questionable whether a majority actually favored the ratification of the instrument. Did a majority favor the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860? History answers that the popular vote against him was a million more than he received, and yet on that mandate he waged war, freed slaves and ruled the nation with an iron hand. Did a majority of the slaves ask for emancipation? History answers that scarce a voice was lifted among them in behalf of freedom.

Do the Republicans believe in simple majority rule? If so, why do they gerrymander New York in such a way as to deprive this city of the representation in the legislature to which the rule of majorities entitle it? Do the Democrats believe in majority rule? If they do, why do they defend a system of rotten boroughs in the south which allows Congressmen to be elected there by three thousand votes, while in western districts, where women vote, as high as a hundred thousand electors often appear at the polls? If any politician tells you that a majority settles everything, just laugh in his face.

How did the American Federation of Labor secure exemption for labor under the anti-trust act? Because the trade unionists are in a majority? Not at all; there are almost twice as many women voters in the United States as there are trade unionists. Organized labor got what it wanted by standing together like the rock of Gibraltar. Convinced that their cause was right, they hammered both the political parties until at length they wrote into the statutes of the United States the measure for which they stood.

If the workingmen of this country, two million strong, can write their magna charta, as Samuel Gompers called it, then the four million voting women in the United States, supported by the over one million men who have voted for them in the eastern states, can write their magna charta and do it right away. If one-tenth of the women voters of the West will resolve upon their faith to vote for no candidate for the office of President who will not support national suffrage, then 1916 will see the end of this shameless fight against the elemental rights of women as human beings. And there are signs that the western women will respond heroically to this call. They are now responding by the hundreds and thousands, and soon the tens of thousands will come in.

So great is the pressure of the women voters that the President of the United States, who was a year ago unconditionally and bitterly opposed to woman suffrage, has seen a great light on the Way to Damascus. Mr. Bryan, who had not found time on the Chautauqua circuit to think of the matter, suddenly discovered a new cause which was old when he was in his cradle. Not a prominent party leader who values the fate of his national organization dares to say that he is opposed to votes for women—except possibly Mr. Elihu Root—and the vote on the Constitution was the answer of the people of this state to his presidential aspirations. Mr. Woodrow Wilson thinks that votes for women is a good thing in the West where they have the ballot, and in New Jersey. Mr. Bryan thinks that the ballot is good for women in Nebraska in the Middle West. Mr. Champ Clark thinks that Missouri—a state almost southern in culture and sympathy—ought to have woman suffrage. Senator O'Gorman thinks votes for women just as expedient in New York. . . . Pray, then, great leaders of our political parties, tell us where votes for women is not just and expedient? Tell us why woman suffrage is not now a national issue? Admitting that it is just, admitting that it is good for the West, the Middle West, the South, the East, and the North, how can you have the hardihood to crawl behind that outworn shiboleth, states' rights? We shall not let you forget what you have said.

(*Continued on page* 8.)

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Suffrage Deputations to

CONGRESSMAN McGILLICUDDY, of Maine, was interviewed at Lewiston on November 3 by a deputation of his constituents interested in securing the right to vote by federal amendment.

The deputation was a large and impressive one; it was led by Mrs. Abbie L. Peasley, and included Miss K. Chase and Mrs. George M. Chase, daughter and daughter-in-law of President Chase, of Bates college; Miss Clara Buswell, dean of women at Bates; Miss Pillsbury, head of the Young Women's Home; Mrs. T. R. Catland, Mrs. Tascus Atwood, Miss Ida Fullonton, Mrs. Augusto Mulloon, Mrs. A. W. Anthony and Miss K. Anthony; Mrs. Young, president of the W. C. T. U., and some thirty other of the best known and most respected women in Lewiston and the vicinity.

A great deal of interest marked the meeting. Mrs. Peasley presented Mrs. Annie Porritt, of Hartford, Connecticut, who spoke of the great labor and self-denial of the women who carried on the campaigns in the states where suffrage had lately been voted upon; and said it seemed more and more unfair for men to ask women to win their enfranchisement in every state separately.

"You men," said Mrs. Porritt, "have never lifted your finger to earn enfranchisement. You got it by becoming twenty-one. Anyone of us can do that.

"Men say that blood was shed for it, but it was not you or your contemporaries; it was our forefathers as much as yours. If freedom was won for the sons of men, why not for the daughters, also?" Mrs. Porritt asked.

"Congress does not amend the United States Constitution," she went on. "It merely passes the amendment in order to refer it to the state legislatures; and not until it is ratified by three-fourths of the states does it become a law. We all believe in majority government. If three-fourths is not sufficient, what would you consider enough?

"Some say we ought not to have the amendment passed because of the colored question. In the same breath they say, 'When we get more states we will get the amendment;' which shows quite plainly that they expect those southern states to yield when the suffrage movement is stronger. They only want to give us a little more work."

Mr. McGillicuddy said, in reply, that he had sat through many committee hearings when the Mondell resolution came up; and he had voted against it. He had never made up his mind that this was the best way to proceed. The Constitution says it can be amended only when necessary; and he could not see that this was necessary, or why it was not better to go to the states. "To be candid," Mr. McGillicuddy said, "I hesitate to vote suffrage on to a state that does not want it, and I see no need for doing so."

Mrs. Porritt said suffrage would not be voted on to the states until three-fourths of them wanted it, when according to the Constitution this majority ought to rule.

Some of the questions put to the Congressman brought out the statement that voting was "not a right, but a privilege." One of the delegation asked him how in that case he defended the creation of a privileged class in this nation. His answer was lost in a general laugh; and another woman inquired why he denied that voting was a right when the fifteenth amendment expressly speaks of "the right to vote." Mr. McGillicuddy smiled amiably and remarked that the discussion was becoming "a little academic."

The general impression at the end of the interview was that Mr. McGillicuddy had not been moved in the slightest degree from his position, but that the women who had gone tranquilly into his room came out fired with enthusiasm for national enfranchisement, and determined to do their utmost to further it.

CONGRESSMAN N. J. SINNOTT, from the Second District of Oregon, expressed his determination to further the Susan B. Anthony amendment in every way possible in the next session of Congress.

"What I have done in the past for suffrage—casting a vote for it, and so forth—I may have done in a perfunctory way, from a sense of duty, perhaps," Mr. Sinnott said. "If I have had this perfunctory feeling in the past, I shall not have it in the future. You all have thoroughly aroused my interest, so that I shall take an active, energetic part in the matter in the coming Congress."

Mr. Sinnott made this statement to a deputation of members of his constituency on November 3; the interview took place in The Dalles Hotel, The Dalles, Oregon.

Mrs. C. J. Crandall, a native Oregonian, and a woman who has known Mr. Sinnott since his boyhood, said in introducing the deputation, "We want you to work with enthusiasm for suffrage, to do all that you can for it. We consider the question of national woman suffrage the most important question to be discussed in the next session of Congress."

After some words from other members of the delegation, Mr. Sinnott replied, "Fellow voters, this summer I have traveled five thousand miles by train and three thousand miles by automobile to meet the members of my district; and it is gratifying indeed that my constituents confer with me over measures in which they are interested.

"By virtue of state law and national," Mr. Sinnott went on, "Congress may submit a constitutional amendment when it deems it necessary to do so; and, as Story says, Congress deems it necessary when it deems it expedient. When an amendment is conceded to be necessary, it is the duty of Congress to submit such an amendment to the people for their consideration."

Congressman Watson of Virginia Sees Suffrage Deputation

THE old hustings courthouse of Petersburg, Virginia, formed the background of a novel scene last Saturday morning when a deputation of Virginia women presented to Judge Watson, Congressman from the fourth district, arguments in behalf of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the United States constitution.

The meeting was by appointment at ten o'clock. A few minutes before the hour set, Mrs. Percy Read, secretary of the Virginia branch of the Congressional Union, arrived with Miss Ethel Crowder, of Petersburg. Then came Congressman Watson, accompanied by a former Assistant Attorney General of Virginia and a prominent local attorney. A big automobile bringing Mrs. Charles Meredith, the state chairman of the Congressional Union, and Miss Elsie Hill, of the Executive Committee, arrived next, decked with the purple, white, and gold colors of the Union and with the now famous banner reading, "We Demand an Amendment to the United States Constitution Enfranchising Women." Mrs. William Harrison and Mrs. George Mead, both of Petersburg, and a number of other local women, joined the group in the court room.

Mrs. Meredith presented the case for the national amendment, quoting Senator Martin, who had said "he knew the amendment was no violation of states' rights." She closed by pointing out the enormous financial burden of state referendum campaigns, the vast outlay of energy and the intolerable length of time it would take to win equality of citizenship in thirty-seven states by the male referendum method. After Mrs. Meredith, Mrs. Percy Read spoke as a Virginia taxpayer. Miss Elsie Hill was then asked by Mrs. Meredith to speak. Miss Hill said that she was in a sense a constituent of Congressman Watson because she had been for the last five years an employe of the District of Columbia, which is governed directly by Congress.

Throughout the presentation Judge Watson made frequent inquiries, and at the close volunteered a statement of his present attitude. Local traditions and conditions, he said, prejudiced him against the method of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. He had no fear of the practical results of the ballot in the hands of women, but he did not wish to see New York or any other state dictating to Virginia who should vote and who should not. He agreed with those who felt that Virginia would be a long time coming to woman suffrage by herself. "I think you suffragists are wise," he said, "who go outside the state to work, because you would be much longer working only from the inside."

Frankly admitting that his present inclination was against the proposed method, Representative Watson said he would take the federal amendment under consideration because he believed that the public man should not close his mind to changes on public questions.

United States Congressmen

When the hearing inside the courtroom was over, Mrs. Meredith and Miss Hill spoke from the automobile at the corner of Courthouse and Sycamore Streets. For more than an hour a large crowd of Petersburg business men stood and listened to the arguments in favor of the submission to the states of the principle of full citizenship for American women.

A LARGE and earnest deputation of Texas women called recently on Representative James L. Slayden, of the fourteenth district, to ask his support for the national suffrage amendment.

The delegation was a very influential one, and the first to wait upon a Texas Congressman in the interest of suffrage. The case for the enfranchisement of women, and for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment by Congress, was presented clearly and thoroughly to Mr. Slayden, who listened most attentively to the arguments submitted to him.

The meeting took place at San Antonio on November 6 in the Crockett Hotel. The delegation, numbering nearly one hundred women, gathered at the Gunter Hotel, and marched, with banners and regalia, to the place of appointment.

The President of the San Antonio Franchise League, Mrs. J. M. Young; the ex-President, Mrs. D. A. Leary, and the President of the City Federation of Clubs, Mrs. J. T. Smith, all of San Antonio; and Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, of Washington, D. C., were the speakers.

Mrs. Smith, introduced by Mrs. Young, went straight to the point of the day's business. "We are glad, Mr. Slayden, to come to you today as representative Texas women," she said, "to tell you how earnestly we desire enfranchisement. In order that our enfranchisement may come quickly, we especially want federal action."

Mrs. Leary made a beautiful appeal for women workers. "Some of these toiling women are scrubbing office floors, on hands and knees, day in and day out; some slaving in factories and sweat shops ten and twelve hours a day; some sewing for a pittance that is hardly enough to keep body and soul together, breathing stifling air, working in dark tenements, or tearing their hands shucking oysters along our coasts; and with it all bearing the burden of maternity.

"We do not make light of chivalry. We honor men who hold the gentler sex in tender regard: but true chivalry must have justice at its foundation.

"Because we know you are just, Mr. Slayden, we appeal to you in the name of all women, to help in this struggle for equal suffrage, so that we may all have something to say about the laws which govern us."

Mrs. Thompson spoke of the fairness of the Susan B. Anthony amendment and its effect if enacted on electoral conditions in Texas and the other southern states.

Mr. Slayden did not attempt to answer any of the arguments. He said that he wished to be just—he did believe in justice and would give the matter very serious consideration. Quite informally he said that men were always glad to do what women wanted done; but suggested that they could effect reforms by telling men how to go about them. The women smiled patiently at this, because they had just tried so hard to tell him how to go about obtaining suffrage for them, which they desire above everything else.

During the interview Mr. Slayden was extremely courteous and attentive and seemed glad to have the opportunity to hear the suffrage case so clearly presented.

The delegation included, among other well-known women of San Antonio, Mrs. George B. Payton, president of the Congress of Mothers; Mrs. H. B. Rice, grand regent of the Daughters of Isabella; Mrs. Louis Polk, secretary of the Self Culture Club; Mrs. T. U. Dechman, treasurer of the Equal Franchise League; Mrs. J. R. Sprague, president of the Woman's Club; Mrs. D. W. Stafford, president of the Gibbons Reading Circle; Mrs. Mattie Walthall Leman, president of the Queen's Daughters; Mrs. Therza Ballinger, president of the Self Culture Club, and Miss Frances Donecker, secretary of the Daughters of Isabella.

Texas Deputation to Congressman Slayden

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. LA FOLLETTE, of Washington, received a deputation of members of his constituency in Stevens Hall at the state college at Pullman, Washington, on Monday morning, November the first.

The members of the deputation marched in procession to the college chapel, carrying the Congressional Union banner and wearing the bright regalia of purple, white and gold.

Miss Virginia Arnold, organizer for the Congressional Union in Washington; Mrs. I. D. Cardiff, corresponding secretary of the State Federation of Clubs, and president of the Historical Club at Pullman; and Miss Rhoda M. White, dean of women, were ushered to the platform, while the remaining members of the deputation were seated in the body of the hall with the faculty and students.

After a brief address by Miss Arnold, the delegation moved to Stevens Hall, accompanied by numbers of the students, to meet Mr. LaFollette.

Mrs. Cardiff, Miss White, Miss Arnold, Miss Marjory Johnson, the house director of Stevens Hall, and Mrs. W. C. Kruegel then urged their Congressman to do his utmost to further national woman suffrage in Congress.

Miss Johnson, a member of the Congressional Union who has worked hard for suffrage in Pennsylvania, Maryland and other eastern states, appealed to Mr. La Follette, as an advocate of conservation, to back the federal amendment as the most economic and efficient method of enfranchising women.

"We understand, Mr. La Follette," said Miss Johnson, "that you have always stood for efficiency and economy in other laws. Now we hope that you will stand for them in this. We hope that you will not only walk but run, if it is necessary, to hasten the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

Dean White then spoke in a wonderful way of the debt western women owe to the women of the East. "We owe a debt," she said, "first simply because *noblesse oblige*. We ourselves know what joy comes to us from the comradeship, the emancipation that is ours; and we cannot but give that joy to others.

"But we owe also a very definite debt. We are accustomed to think of the western men as giving us the ballot, and it is true that without them we could not have gained our freedom; but was it not, too, the spiritual heritage that the women of the East gave us, the women that thought this matter out? Was it not the eastern women who looked far and wide, who saw the western field ripe for woman's enfranchisement?"

Mr. La Follette, addressing the gathering, which had throughout rather the character of a general meeting than a personal interview, said, "I have listened with interest to what has been said and I heartily agree with most of it, but not with all. I do not think that we owe any great debt to the East, but to the western men, who are not deadheads but men who used the brains the Lord gave them, men who thought out the question of whether or not a nation that went to war with Great Britain because of taxation without representation could consistently hold one-half of its citizens in political slavery.

"I believe that one reason that woman suffrage does not come in the East is that there is such a large foreign population; another reason is that men believe that woman suffrage will mean doing away with things by which they are making the unholy dollar.

"I am not one who thinks that we must have this amendment and this one only. I think that if the energy that is now being put in the West was spent in the East, more good would be done. The states are the places to work. When you have got this amendment through Congress you will have just as much work to do as you ever had."

When Mr. La Follette had finished, it was pointed out to him in detail how and why women would certainly not have as much to do, once the federal amendment was passed through Congress. Mr. La Follette promised to give hearty and practical assistance to the work for suffrage next session.

Among others who took part in the deputation or were present at the preparatory meeting called by Miss White at Stevens Hall were Mrs. Bryan, wife of the president of the college; Mrs. O. L. Waller, wife of the vice-president; Mrs. W. M. Handy, of the Matron's Club; Mrs. N. W. Goodyear, wife of the editor of the *Herald;* Miss Juanita Gregory, president of the Woman's League; Mrs. A. L. Melander, president of the Fortnightly Club; Miss Norma Tuson, president of the Literary Society; Mrs. S. C. Roberts, president of the Civic Club, and Professor Agnes H. Craig, head of the home economics department.

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"On to Washington"

By Prof. Charles H. Beard

(*Continued from page 5.*)

Clearly the slogan now is, "On to Washington." Give no member of Congress peace night or day until Congress has passed the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The leaders there, nearly all of them who are more than village politicians, have declared your cause just in the West, the North, the South, the Middle West, and the East. If it is just, then they should bend every effort to establish that justice. To the West there will roll up the dark clouds of defeat threatening any party that dares to say to the woman voters there that women are unworthy of equal citizenship. Of course, the politicians will threaten and bluster and spit fire; but they are more afraid of the votes of 10,000 women of the West than they are of the sweet and tearful pleadings of all the angels in heaven. . . .

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